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"If I had here to state my objection," [to the present state of our force,] "it would not be] that the "militia is too much. I think, that a militia to this extent" [90,000 men for the United Kingdom] "we "can bear."——Mr. Pitt's Speech, 6th June, 1803.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM WINDHAM:

UPON OUR MILITARY FORCE, PARTICULARLY THAT OF THE VOLUNTEERS.

Sir,——The distinguished and patriotic part, which you have taken in all the parliamentary discussions relating to our military force, has emboldened me to take the liberty to address to you, through the channel of the press, such observations as have occurred to me upon that important subject.

The merits of the volunteer system * have given rise to such a copious discussion, that an apology may seem necessary for offering any further observations on that interesting subject. I do not mean, however, to exhibit any thing like a complete view of all the arguments which have been advanced by those who condemn, or approve of that system. This would lead me into too wide a field, and would, besides, involve the repetition of incidental topics of no general importance. What I mean chiefly to insist upon, is the impossibility of ever bringing the volunteers under the control of such strict discipline, as to induce the formation of military habits. If I can establish this radical objection to a force so constituted, it will be quite unnecessary to expose the extreme folly and inutility of all those extrinsic absurdities with which this branch of our national defence is encumbered. We are now as fully possessed of all the requisites for forming a correct opinion on this very important question, as ever we are likely to be. Superadded to the light of general principles, we have the authority of professional men, and the evidence of experience, by which we are enabled to rest our conclusions on a more solid ground, to deduce facts from principles, and by establishing the necessary connexion, and mutual dependency of scattered truths, to consolidate them into a system of connected speculation. During the weak administration of Mr. Addington, there might have been some ground for the fallacious idea, that the want of discipline, which was confessed on all hands to be a very prevalent defect in volunteer corps, was occasioned by accidental causes; and, probably, arose from a want of activity in all the departments of the executive government; but, if under the direction of Mr. Pitt, whose talents have never been questioned, the volunteers have not been materially improved, but have relaxed in a very glaring manner in their attention to military duties; if that minister has not been able to infuse energy into the system, men of reflection will be apt to suspect, that the whole contrivance is radically vicious and absurd.

In order to bring this important question to the test of strict analysis, I propose, *First*, To establish a general theory of military obedience. *Secondly*, To consider whether the principles on which that theory rests can ever be incorporated into the volunteer system, so as to afford any rational expectation of its answering the end for which it was designed. *Thirdly*, Whether the volunteer establishment is indirectly instrumental in increasing the regular army, by promoting a military spirit among the people.

The attainment of excellence in any of those various professions or occupations, by which the aspect of society is diversified, depends either on mechanical dexterity, or on the cultivation and perfection of certain qualities, either moral or intellectual. The bearings and relations of different occupations to the mind are, however, very different, some depending principally on mechanical dexterity, others on the formation of peculiar mental habits and qualities. As the influence of those qualities is less plain and palpable to the senses, than the operations of manual expertness, their importance is apt to be overlooked by superficial observers. They are, notwithstanding, indispensably necessary. It would, for instance, be impossible to practise either the profession of a physician or a surgeon, unless several of the strongest feelings of the human heart were

* It need scarcely be observed, that these observations are intended solely to apply to the volunteer *system*; and that they cannot, without the most perverse misunderstanding of their meaning, be construed into a reflection against *individuals*, who certainly deserve commendation for their patriotic zeal. It is only to be lamented, that their laudable efforts should meet with so much discouragement from the incorrigible depravity of the system under which they act.

previously subdued. To those who have been accustomed to a different way of life, and who have consequently acquired different habits, it appears astonishing, that men who are perpetually familiar with all the varieties of human distress, should mingle with seeming unconcern in the most cheerful scenes, without any alloy from the remembrance of those spectacles of anguish and affliction of which they are the constant witnesses. But on a more attentive consideration, this apparent insensibility will appear to be the necessary result of that process of discipline, which the mind has undergone, and without which it would be impossible in this profession to derive practical benefit from theoretical skill. In all those employments where success or eminence depends on a contempt of danger or death, the importance of mental qualities decidedly predominates; there the feelings of nature are so rooted and powerful, that the grand object ought to be to find out a principle of sufficient force to counteract their effects; and although at first view, this may appear impracticable, on account of the potent influence with which they act upon the mind, yet this very circumstance furnishes a sure ground from which they may be successfully assailed. All perilous professions afford the means of their own support; they are peculiarly favourable to the growth of enthusiasm, and are upheld chiefly by the fear of shame, and the love of glory; two principles which spring from the same root, and operate in the same direction, with this difference, that the first is only calculated to prevent an open breach of duty, while the other is of more unlimited efficacy, and animates to exertions of active heroism. These two passions are the materials which must be employed; they are the seminal principles originally implanted in the mind, and they must be matured into moral habitudes, by a long course of patient cultivation. As the heart, if it were left unassisted to the pure workings of its own natural feelings, would undoubtedly shrink in the hour of trial, those qualities by which it is enabled bravely to confront peril, must be called forth, and propped by a variety of collateral supports. The employment of a sailor leads him into a perpetual intercourse with dangers of the most terrific kind, and the preliminary tuition which he receives, before he acquires a knowledge of his art, disciplines him into intrepidity and presence of mind. Among sailors a reluctance to execute any hazardous duty, affixes infamy to a man's character; those who exhibit indications of a timid spirit, are treated with every species of obloquy; they are despised by those who have the most frequent opportunity of manifesting their contempt, and whose estimation they are most anxious to gain. It is impossible to conceive a more efficacious discipline for the mind, and it is not surprising, that it produces at length a degree of heroism, of which men in the quiet occupations of civil society have no adequate conception.

The attainment of eminence in the military profession, is closely connected with the perfection of those moral qualities, by which the mind, in scenes of peril is supported and preserved in full possession of its faculties. Accordingly, a variety of extraneous supports, and a complicated system of discipline, have been contrived in order to qualify men for the duties of active warfare. As my main design in this part of my subject is to explain the foundation of military obedience, it will be necessary fully and distinctly to trace the connexion between general principles and particular regulations, in order that we may be enabled to separate what is essentially necessary to the existence of the system, from what is merely accidental, and liable of course to be altered and modified on grounds of practical expediency. In contemplating the constitution of the regular army, the nature of that relation which exists between a private and his officer, when attentively examined, will be found to exhibit a very striking illustration of the doctrines which I have already premised, and will prove that it is not so much on mechanical dexterity, as on the acquisition of peculiar moral habitudes, that the distinctive superiority of disciplined troops incontestibly depends. As those moral habitudes are in a great measure artificial, and as their progress is impeded by the prevailing dispositions of the human mind, they must be created and supported by the unintermitted action of very powerful causes. For this purpose the power of an officer is absolute and complete, and the mutual connexion between him and those whom he commands, is fixed by an irrevocable obligation. He can resort also in extreme cases to the coercion of vigorous punishment; an authority of which the frequent use is not only odious, but very inexpedient;† but, of which the

† That portion of Sir R. Wilson's work, which relates to the infliction of punishment, not only displays singular benevolence and humanity, but contains many sound and judicious observations susceptible of a more general application. The known experience of the author on the subjects which he treats,

possession is absolutely necessary, not only for creating and strengthening the infant feeling of obedience, till it shoots into the vigorous hardihood of a fixed habit; but for facilitating the development of other principles, which acting upon the mind by a more grateful influence, soften the original vigour of those relations which grow out of military subordination, and eventually lead to the most heroic exertions of voluntary zeal. The fear of punishment is, however, the primary spring of obedience; honour, though it rises higher than the source from which it flows, and by addressing man as a moral agent, is unlimited in its effects, is only a secondary principle. In all political structures, indeed, however splendid their external appearance, we uniformly find that the foundation is formed of the same coarse materials. On examining that process of moral culture which the mind of a soldier receives before it is thoroughly subjected, it will be found that all the regulations of the regular army are relative to two principles, fear and honour.

When the raw recruit is first placed under the care of a drill-serjeant, he has the firm conviction impressed upon his mind, that obedience can be enforced by punishment, and all the instructions which he receives, tend to strengthen him in this belief, and to train him to a familiarity with the peremptory decrees of martial law. Submission to orders is not merely inculcated by a naked catalogue of dry precepts; strong motives to action never can arise from a knowledge of duty merely theoretical; in order thoroughly to subject men to the control of discipline, their minds must be rendered constantly conversant with the authority which admits of neither modification nor dispute. For this purpose it is of essential importance in the economy of the regular army, to enjoin the strictest attention to commands apparently trivial; to exact the most rigorous compliance with forms and etiquette, not merely on account of their abstract and individual importance; but, because a constant, punctilious observance of orders in the minutiæ of discipline tends to secure obedience on more perilous and important occasions. It brings the man constantly under the eye of his officer; it forces him perpetually into a contact with his power; it gives substance to theoretical rules, by connecting them with practical regulations; it preserves the control of authority in perpetual vigour, by rendering it plain and palpable to the sense; and multiplies and strengthens those ties by which military discipline at length enchains the mind. An officer, is therefore, placed with respect to his men, in the most commanding position which can well be conceived; he is the dispenser of rewards and punishments; and it is not surprising that he at length obtains a complete ascendency over their minds. Power being thus placed on a secure foundation, it is the province of political skill, by stripping it of its terrors, to conciliate those whom it subjects, and to create in its favour artificial supports drawn from passions congenial to the human mind. These supports very naturally grow out of military subjection; for, as it is of all others the most odious and disgraceful situation to live in habitual dread of punishment; and, as a zealous and active service never can spring from terror, the mind very naturally opens to an ambitious desire of gaining the good-will and esteem, of those who must otherwise inspire emotions ungrateful in the extreme. It cannot be doubted, but this is the foundation of honour; for whatever collateral aids it may receive, without the severe coercion of martial law, the intractable passions of mankind could never be moulded into habits so adverse to the genuine feelings of nature. The situation of soldiers rendering them, therefore, accessible to the influence of this principle, various means are devised for fostering its growth. They are instructed to pay a scrupulous regard to personal cleanliness, to keep their bodies in an erect attitude, and to execute all their motions with a certain precision and alertness. They are separated from the common people, by the distinction of a more showy dress, and are taught to consider themselves as consecrated to a more honourable service. All these minutiæ of discipline are in themselves trifling and useless, for, it is not supposed, that a slovenly appearance, or an awkward or stooping gait, or a plain and sober garb, detract from the physical powers of the human body. But they are to be considered as leading to a more important end; as tending to create in the mind of the young soldier a principle of honour, which is a nobler and far more efficacious motive of action than the dread of power. His affections are gradually engaged by the splendid solemnity of military pomp,

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and the manly independence with which he declares his sentiments, give a weight and importance to his opinions, which naked deductions of principle never can possess. There is a lurking propensity among mankind to disregard theoretical speculations. However well founded they may be, they are generally classed with those ingenious refinements of philosophy, which are of no practical utility.

by martial bands of music, by the grandeur of reviews, and other public exhibitions of professional skill. He begins to take a pride in performing with correctness and celerity the most complicated evolutions, his duty becomes a pleasure; he is familiarised to warlike associations, and being constantly in the society of his comrades, he hears with eager wonder tales of past difficulties and hardships, imbibes their habits and modes of thinking, and glows with the same emotions of martial enthusiasm. His passions throw brilliant colours over those scenes of peril and adventure which chequer a soldier's hazardous career. The dangers of war, far from appearing to him through the medium of despondency and gloom, form the most conspicuous and splendid objects in the visionary pictures of his enraptured fancy. Such are the effects of this wonderful principle, when it is judiciously managed, and brought to bear with a vigorous and constant action upon the human mind.

Honour, however, though a far more effective spring than fear, requires to be constantly invigorated by its influence; if the restraint of martial law were withdrawn, the old inveterate habits of nature would at length recur, and the frail fabric raised with so much care, and upheld by so many artificial supports, would soon crumble into pieces. Honour by disarming authority of its terrors, operates as a corrective to its noxious effects, while authority keeps alive the principle of honour, and prevents the mind from springing back to the direction from which it was originally bent. It does not appear, however, that we are ever enabled to effect any fundamental change in the radical dispositions of our nature, or that any process of moral discipline can subdue those emotions which are originally implanted in the human heart. Accordingly, those who in trying scenes of danger, where they were supported by a variety of auxiliary principles, have behaved with undaunted fortitude, when placed in different circumstances, and left to the unassisted influence of their own feelings, have betrayed unequivocal symptoms of alarm and dismay. Many soldiers who have secured an honourable character by their conduct in the field, have been totally overpowered by the terrors of a storm at sea. This proves beyond a doubt, that their former steadiness had been wholly owing to the preliminary training which they had received, and that it is vain to expect, that without the formation of powerful habits, men can encounter danger with coolness and intrepidity. In a storm a soldier has no adventitious supports to which he can cling; he is neither controled by command, nor by the dread of losing his character and honour; and, he is besides, not at all accustomed to the associations connected with this new and peculiar mode of peril. The terror which he feels obviously results from the want of previous training, which is necessary to fortify the human mind in the hour of danger.

As honour becomes a predominating principle in the relations of military subordination, they assume a different character, their natural vigour is softened, and both the soldier and his officer are disposed to indulge in the mutual sentiments of affection and attachment. All those relations in society which to the individuals concerned are of primary importance, have a tendency to produce a desire of mutual conciliation, which manifests itself in an interchange of good offices. In this respect the officers of the regular army possess peculiar advantages. When a man has enlisted, he is in general withdrawn from that circle of friendship or patronage, where he could look for advice or assistance in those temporary embarrassments, by which human life is so frequently distressed. All the social relations in which he formerly stood being thus dissolved, or at least, rendered wholly nugatory as to any view of immediate utility, to whom can he apply for advice in straits or difficulties, or for protection against injustice and oppression, but to those with whom he is connected by the ties of military subordination, and who are qualified to assist him with their council, or to interpose by the weight of their rank to vindicate his rights. I do not state this circumstance as being in itself of extreme importance, but as it constitutes one of those many concurring principles individually weak and inefficient, but which being combined, materially contribute to support the constitution of the army in its pristine vigour. By the complicated operation, therefore, of authority, honour, and a variety of collateral and accidental supports, the soldier at length attains to the highest possible perfection in his profession. The artificial principles created in his mind, predominate at last over those on which they were originally engrafted, and the habit of obedience to command is formed into a constituent feeling of his soul.

Having thus endeavoured to analyse and explain the internal mechanism of a standing army, and to point out the mutual connexion and dependency of its complicated springs, I shall now consider, whether its fundamental principles can ever be incorporated into the volunteer system. If the

theory of regular discipline already premised be formed on just views of the subject, then it is evident that absolute power is the only foundation on which a structure of military subordination can be solidly reared; and that all provisions of inferior importance, though not, perhaps, directly relative to this essential principle, do yet indirectly originate from its influence, and derive their effects from its vigorous operation. In contriving, therefore, a system of discipline and instruction for any number of individuals, who may agree to train themselves to an inferior degree of proficiency in the use of arms, a wise statesman would first direct his attention to the nature of the controling power which he possessed over them, in order that all subordinate regulations might act in harmonious co-operation with the primary principle from which they originate. The want of an efficient control is an inherent defect for which no effectual and permanent corrective can possibly be provided. The whole contrivance must be adapted to this its fundamental spring; otherwise its subsequent movements will be languid, feeble, and contradictory. Nothing can be more vain and foolish than to imagine that moral habitudes can be brought to any degree of perfection without the continued coercion of an efficient authority. It may easily be conceived, indeed, that the human mind cannot be forced into a direction purely artificial, and quite contrary to its natural bias, without the permanent influence of powerful causes. Under a control, therefore, of inferior efficacy, all those regulations which are relative to any of those moral habitudes, to the principle of honour for instance, and which derive their effect solely from the fundamental energy of a more vigorous system, are totally nugatory and useless; they are parts of the machine, which possess no peculiar property themselves, but are only useful as they facilitate the application of the primary mechanical power, to the matter on which it is destined to act; they are not like the screw, the pulley, or the lever, which admit neither of modification, nor of change; and, which, though the whole construction be taken to pieces, are still the *disjecta membra*, with which the work of renovation must be begun.

In appreciating the merits of that plan of discipline and instruction which has been contrived for the perfection of the volunteer force, it will be necessary first to consider what is the nature and extent of that power by which the immense body can be controled. At the period of its first formation, the volunteer system, undoubtedly possessed two springs of considerable vigour; namely, the dread of invasion, and the apprehension of the ballot. The first is completely enfeebled, and the last annihilated. Indeed, it was impossible that an alarm founded on exaggerated representations of immediate danger could last for any time. The animated representations of the dangers to be apprehended from invasion, certainly kindled an uncommon ardour throughout the whole nation; but no effectual plan was, or indeed, could be devised, for giving permanence to the fleeting irradiations of popular enthusiasm. The invasion, perhaps, without any just ground, is now considered as a standing jest, and the vigour, which arose from this transitory illusion seems to be for ever fled. There does not exist in the constitution of this important branch of our national defence any other control whatever; the officer possesses no power by which he can command respect or enforce obedience, no authority by which he can render his favour or approbation of the slightest consequence to those whom he is appointed to command. The connexion which subsists between a volunteer and his officer, is intersected by so many other relations, that it never can rise into primary importance; it never can be cemented, as in the regular army, by any of those secondary ties, which, though they relax the original bond, yet give it a more secure hold of the human mind. Nothing appears to me, therefore, to mark more strongly the total want of a discriminating mind, than the blind servility with which all the frippery and tinsel of the regular army has been so faithfully transferred to the volunteers, without considering how radically dissimilar they are both in their character and circumstances, from a force permanently kept up, and exclusively employed in military duties. A strict and punctilious compliance with all the minutiæ of discipline, where there is a vigorous superintending control of sufficient efficacy to coerce the mind into artificial habits, tends to facilitate the development of those auxiliary principles, by which the main design of the system is promoted; the trifling ceremonies of etiquette are means subsidiary to an important end; they are parts of a great whole, which must stand or fall with its fundamental supports. But, in a body so constituted as the volunteers, where the private possesses the unqualified power of resigning, and of thus dissolving, for reasons wholly arbitrary, all connexion between him and his officer, the essential requisites for the formation of military habits

do not exist. Where an officer is invested with no direct power over those whom he is appointed to instruct, it never can be expected that they will put themselves to any serious inconvenience or trouble, in order by acquiring perfection in discipline, to conciliate his favour, or that they can ever be brought by the operation of a feeble and precarious control, to take either a pleasure or a pride in attaining expertness in military exercises; more particularly, when their attention is distracted by a variety of more pressing and important avocations. How radically different is the constitution of the army! There a soldier is placed under the eye of authority, which has power to punish or reward; his obedience to orders and his alacrity in executing them, resulting at first from a natural inclination to conciliate those on whom his happiness eminently depends, is formed at length into a habit, and the obligations of duty being incorporated with the feelings of honour, are at last entirely divested of their natural harshness. All those regulations, therefore, which in the regular army are intended to act as collateral supports to authority and honour, are pointed to no determinate object in the volunteer system, where neither authority nor honour can have any existence. In the original structure from which they have been copied with such a stupid exactness, they are elegant and appropriate ornaments, and they add materially to the solid strength of the building; but they harmonise so ill with all the relative proportion of the new erection, in which they have been so injudiciously placed, that the whole exhibits a most striking appearance of incongruity, mutilation, and deformity. Destitute, therefore, of all the genuine characteristics of an army, how foolish it is to cling with such fondness to the unsubstantial form, the inanimate resemblance, the mere husk and shell without the substance; when we know we cannot possess the real character, to indulge a puerile vanity, and decorate ourselves with the supposititious plumes, to amuse ourselves with contrivances for protecting the plant, and forwarding its growth, when we want the root from which it must spring. It cannot be too often stated, that the distinctive superiority of disciplined troops, depends not upon the attainment of mechanical precision or dexterity in certain motions, but on the cultivation and perfection of moral qualities; that those qualities can only be attained by a long process of strict discipline; and, that without the power to enforce strict discipline, it is impossible to infuse that energy into any body of men, by which alone they can be enabled to withstand the shock of regular battalions, and amid all the destruction and carnage of a battle to execute the necessary manœuvres and evolutions with steadiness, precision, and regularity. The volunteers may attain to an inferior degree of perfection in that sort of military mimicry, to which so much attention seems to be paid; but, it appears to me to be the height of folly to indulge an expectation, that they ever can acquire by means of discipline, those moral qualities which constitute by far the most important part of a soldier's character, when they want the fundamental spring from which discipline derives its energy and effect. It would be quite as reasonable to expect, that a passenger should return from a voyage with the weatherbeaten face of an experienced sailor, as that the human mind should be forced without any control into habitudes entirely artificial. Both suppositions are equally ridiculous, with this difference, however, that the absurdity in the one case is evident to the coarse observation of sense, in the other visible only to the nicer perceptions of the moral eye.

Many attempts have been made by the admirers of the volunteer system to heal its constitutional infirmity by means of partial remedies; all of which have proceeded from the same fatal misconception of the true nature of the military character. It was suggested by Mr. Pitt, that by the aid of officers from the line, the discipline of the volunteers might be materially improved. I do not believe that the imperfect state of the volunteer force ought to be attributed to any incapacity in the officers; among such a number of individuals there must no doubt be men ignorant of their duty; there are others, however, perfectly capable, and well qualified, if they were invested with adequate authority, for successfully discharging the duties of the respective stations which they fill. But their exertions even if they were assisted by officers from the line, would be rendered vain and nugatory by the innate depravity of a system, where professional skill, not being backed by the vigorous operation of martial law, it is maimed and crippled in its most efficient members. A military officer without power, is like a well without water; he may instruct men in a mere theoretical knowledge of their duty; but he never can, by establishing the conviction of his authority, produce habits of obedience, or principles of honour, or any

of those secondary ties, which rivet the original bond more securely upon the human mind.

The fundamental defect therefore of the whole arrangement, the origin of all those absurdities and contrarieties into which its favourers have been driven in attempting to cure radical evil by partial emendations, consists in the want of an efficient controul. This defect is wholly incurable; for so loosely cemented are all its constituent parts, that the slightest pressure of authority would break into pieces the whole fabric. A variety of particles are brought together, but a powerful predominating principle is wanting to counteract their tendency to mutual repulsion. Without any distinct knowledge of the materials which they possessed, the framers and contrivers of the volunteer system have jumbled them together into a heterogeneous mixture, and left it without any compunction to the troubled operation of the hostile ingredients which it contained. The whole contrivance being founded on an intimate union of civil right with military duties, involves a radical contradiction; it proposes to blend together principles destined by the constitution of the political system to exist in eternal enmity, and to alter the form into which society has been cast by the fixed operation of moral laws. It is impossible therefore that the volunteers can ever attain to any proficiency in the most important requisites of discipline. The ministry have indeed declared them to be in a state of progressive improvement and of unabated vigour; but it is impossible for the blindest enthusiast to give credit to this assertion, when he contemplates the glaring relaxation, and indeed the almost complete abandonment of military duties which has already taken place. Have the volunteers improved in habits of obedience to command, in respect or deference to their officers, in a punctual attendance at drill? Have their exertions to perfect themselves in discipline been invigorated by emulation, or by any other strong principle of action? These are the grounds on which their merits ought to be estimated, and while on every one of these, facts speak so strongly against them, all general commendations on their proficiency are nugatory and useless. Their outward appearance may be ameliorated; they may have attained to some degree of expertness in those trifles which are connected with shew and parade; but in all the substantial qualities of an efficient military force they are deplorably deficient. Their attention is directed merely to the unimportant minutiæ of discipline, while all that is material in the constitution of our army is neglected; like hypocrites in religion, scrupulously particular in the observance of external forms, but destitute of faith to animate them to good works. To arrange in battalions troops of this description, which are but superficially assimilated to soldiers, and to place them in a line of battle where they may be exposed to the impetuous and well supported charge of a force hardened by service and perfected by discipline, appears to me to be a rash and hazardous project totally repugnant to those cautious maxims of policy by which plans of extensive national utility are gradually matured. The imprudence and rashness of this perilous innovation, and indeed the folly of the whole system has been exposed with great force of argument, and with a variety of pointed illustrations, both by yourself and Mr. Fox, to whose speeches I could wish every one to refer, not only as they bear forcibly upon the present question, but as they throw a steady light on the general principles of military discipline. Your opinions and doctrines I have only endeavoured in this letter to arrange, illustrate, and amplify.

The third part of my subject shall be very shortly discussed. It is evident that if the original separation of the soldiers by means of military distinctions, was founded on just principles, the good effects of that policy must be counteracted by the indiscriminate prodigality with which the peculiar ornaments of a soldier have been lavished away, and by the mass of spurious rank to which the volunteer system has given birth. All the artificial distinctions in society derive their value entirely from their rarity; they possess no native or intrinsic excellence, by which they can be secured from debasement, and in proportion as they are rendered common, they cease to be the objects of ambition. It is justly observed by the author of the Rambler that "fame, power, "and riches are only the names of relative "conditions, which imply the obscurity, "dependance, and poverty of greater num-"bers." It would be impossible in every case to fix upon the predominating motive which impelled the individual to enlist. The most general inducement appears to be a love of honour, distinction and shew, combined with the unsteady propensities of youth. The ostentation of a military dress, and all the pomp and parade connected with the business of war, undoubtedly tends to awaken the enthusiasm of the mind, and by rendering a soldier an object of peculiar interest, to create a love for his character and profession, great part of the effect must

evidently arise from the novelty and uncommonness of the spectacle; a distinction when it is rendered common loses its nature and character. In this respect the volunteer system, has completely depreciated the value of all those honorary badges, which in former times exclusively characterised the military profession. They are now displayed in rich profusion by clowns, mechanics, and citizens, who are every where to be seen glittering in the splendor of martial array, that as a ground of distinction they are perfectly useless, and their former effect of course almost totally done away. Those therefore who have established the volunteer system, have virtually stripped the military profession of all those external graces by which the heart is gained, and the passions are kindled, and now they exhibit the marrowless skeleton, in all its naked deformity to captivate affection, and to conciliate love. All those inducements, therefore which arose from the influence of ornamental and honorary distinctions, being withdrawn, the tendency to enter into the regular army must rather be checked than encouraged. It has been sometimes urged that a taste for warlike occupations may be created among the volunteers, and that men may be thus induced to enlist. But motives of that sort can only exist where a force is permanently kept up, not where men are drilled occasionally and are consequently conversant only in the duties, not in the pleasures of a military life. But why resort to any circuitous measure for increasing the regular force. Let all impediments be removed which arise from the jarring operation of contradictory contrivances, and the ordinary mode of recruiting will ensure a perennial supply of men to the army. The ministers however appear to be smitten with a malignant inclination to introduce into all their schemes of internal policy, a useless degree of intricacy, to multiply wheels within wheels till they are lost in the chaos of their own folly. This strange complexity in the theoretical construction of their plans, recalls to mind the qualifications of a well known hero, who

> "Could wisely tell what hour o'the day
> "The clock does strike by algebra."

Without a radical change in the whole system of our internal policy, Britain never can regain her former importance among the nations of Europe. She has been brought into her present state of degradation, partly by a dishonourable and hollow truce, and partly by a succession of weak and contradictory measures, which have crushed her energies and enfeebled her power. Her ministers seem to have considered the attainment of a precarious security, as the utmost boundary of their humble ambition, and the force which they have provided accords perfectly in its nature and constitution with their grovelling views Struck with a most irrational panic by the threat of invasion, all their faculties seem to have deserted them; they adopted a succession of measures so contradictory, that it was very naturally imagined that they were debarred by the fear of a malediction from looking behind them. So far from exhibiting in any of their contrivances the faintest indications of a disposing mind, all their movements appeared to proceed from a mere blind animal instinct of self-preservation. Absorbed in the contemplation of a hostile invasion their whole system was pointed exclusively to this solitary possibility, and for a bare and inglorious safety, a safety liable to be disturbed by perpetual alarms, they have sacrificed the resources of their country; they have crippled almost her whole force by the inherent disability of its constitution, and have thus incapacitated her from achieving a solid and honourable security by bold and decisive operations of active hostility.

I am, Sir, yours, &c. &c.

Edinburgh, Jan. 26th, 1805. B.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

JAMAICA COMPLAINTS.—*Resolution of the Governor and Council of the Colony of Jamaica, dated and issued on the 21st of November*, 1804.

Whereas, by a resolution of Council, bearing date the 17th day of July, 1800, his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor was advised to recommend to the several Officers of his Majesty's Customs, at the several ports of this island, to permit the free importation of sheep, hogs, poultry, small live stock of all kinds, and all sorts of fruit, salted and all other provisions, and lumber of every description, as well in British as in all other vessels belonging to neutral and other states in amity with Great-Britain, from the day of the date thereof until the 31st day of December next ensuing, and until six months notice should be given to the contrary, upon the like terms, charges, and conditions, and subject to the same rules, regulations, visitations, and searches as are observed with respect to vessels importing provisions to this island: And whereas permission was also granted to all neutral vessels importing the above articles, under the authority of the above resolution, to export rum and molasses from any port or ports, place or places, of

this island, upon the like terms, stipulations, charges, and conditions, as are observed with respect to the British vessels in the like cases.—Resolved, That his Honour be advised to signify to the principal Officers of his Majesty's Customs, at the several ports of this island, that from and after the expiration of six months, to be computed from the present date, the said resolution of Council of the 17th of July, 1800, is to be no longer considered in force.

M. Atkinson, *Cl. Conc.*

Jamaica Complaints.—*To his Honour Lieutenant-General George Nugent, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander in Chief of this his Majesty's Island of Jamaica, and the Territories thereon depending in America, Chancellor and Vice-admiral of the same, dated 8th Dec.* 1804.

The humble Address of the Assembly.

May it please your Honour,—We his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the the Assembly of Jamaica, beg leave to state to your Honour that we have seen, with the deepest concern, the Resolution of Council of the 21st November last, announcing a termination of the intercourse betwixt this island and America, in six months from that date.—The fatal consequences which must result from such a measure, impel us to represent to your Honour the alarm and dreadful apprehensions it has generally excited; for the fact is notorious, that without a continuance of this intercourse, our plantations cannot be supplied with the articles of lumber indispensably requisite to convey the various produce of the island to the mother-country: that the very sustenance necessary for our own existence and that of our slaves, or even the subsistence of his Majesty's forces by sea and land on this station, cannot be obtained by any other means, especially during the time of war, but by a permission for an intercourse with the United States of America, and which if once interrupted, in the moment of famine and distress, cannot be restored.—Penetrated with the most lively feelings on this alarming occasion, and having the fullest conviction of the fatal consequnces inseparable from this resolution, should it not be revoked, we, the Representatives of this valuable island, do most anxiously submit to your Honour's just consideration our earnest solicitude that your Honour would be pleased to direct a reconsideration of this order in Council, and recal the publication of such resolution, until an opportunity is afforded to the Assembly of representing to his most gracious Majesty the certain and immediate destruction that will impend over our lives and properties, whenever the regulation which we now deprecate shall be adopted.

Jamaica Complaints.—*Answer of Governor Nugent to the Assembly.*

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly,—The subject of your Address has had the mature consideration which its importance required. Having received instructions from his Majesty's Ministers relative to the intercourse between this island and the American States, and having laid the same before the Privy Council, the Resolution of the 21st ult. was published by the advice of that Board, as a necessary consequence of the imperative orders transmitted to me from England: It is with extreme concern therefore that I feel myself obliged to deny the earnest request of so very respectable a body as the Representatives of this valuable Colony; but as the six months notice of the termination of the intercourse have given me an opportunity of communicating your wishes to the Secretary of State, I shall not fail to avail myself of it, and that period will also afford you sufficient time to make your representations to his Majesty, in the manner you think most conducive to the interests of Jamaica.

Jamaica Complaints.—*Petition of the Assembly of Jamaica to his Majesty, agreed to on the 12th Dec.* 1804.

Most gracious sovereign,—We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Assembly of Jamaica, beg leave to approach your Throne with our assurances of that profound respect and veneration, which your Majesty's many eminent virtues have impressed on the minds of all your faithful subjects.—Conscious that it has been the delight of your Majesty, and of the Princes of your Illustrious House, to protect the rights, to advance the interests, and promote the prosperity, of every part of your extensive Empire, with perfect confidence in your Majesty's paternal care we bring before you the grievances, which at present oppress and threaten to ruin the loyal inhabitants of this valuable colony before they are known to the best of Sovereigns.—Encouraged by the proclamations and charters of your Majesty's predecessors, our ancesters emigrated to this island, and, under the sanction of positive laws, enacted when civil and political liberty was well understood, established a trade with Africa for procuring labourers. By means of this intercourse plantations were opened, and have been extended and cultivated with well-known advantages to your Majesty's Empire. But those speculative men who have propagated fanatical and chi-

merical ideas of liberty and equality in the old world, who poisoned the minds of the inhabitants, and deluged its fairest provinces with blood, have now attacked the rights, traduced the reputation, and set at nought the lives of the peaceable inhabitants of your Majesty's West-India Colonies: They affect to promote the happiness of the natives of Africa; but your Majesty's wisdom, which soon penetrated the plausible and delusive guise assumed by those theorists in Europe, will not fail to discover that the good that they seek in another Continent is at best uncertain, whilst the means they propose, an abolition to the Slave-Trade, will be immediate destruction to the property, and put in hazard the lives of your Majesty's faithful subjects settled in these colonies; and we confidently trust that the same firmness, which protected those subjects, more immediately blessed with your Majesty's presence, from the fatal gifts of liberty and equality, will shield your faithful colonists from dangers no less imminent, although concealed under pretences equally specious and popular.—By laws and regulations enacted by your Majesty's royal predecessors, with the advice of their Parliaments, a monopoly of the navigation and trade of the colonies were secured to the mother-country; but, as a compensation, Great Britain, in her justice, gave to the staples, cultivated in these valuable dependencies, a decided preference, or an exclusive right to supply her home consumption. As our means and prosperity increased, duties were levied on our produce imported, and their augmentation, as the exigencies of the state required, was submitted to with cheerfulnes, whilst kept within such bounds as there was a possibility of sustaining. Under this system your Majesty's colony of Jamaica attained an enviable state of prosperity, and contributed largely to that of the mother-country. It is with the deepest regret that we appeal to your Majesty's justice to protect us from the consequences of the many deviations lately made from this system, regarded by your colonists as a compact the most solemn, matured by experience, and sanctioned by time: Whilst its observance on our part has been rigidly exacted, Great Britain has exempted herself from its operation: A maximum has been established, limiting the price of our principal staple, Sugar, to what is barely sufficient for its cultivation in time of peace: The protecting duty which secured us, in return for numberless restrictions, the consumption of the British market, has been reduced until they are of no avail, and for the avowed purpose of depriving us of this equitable compensation by encouraging the production of sugar in the settlements of the East India Company: The duties levied on this commodity and on Rum have been carried so far beyond what they can support, that the consumption has materially diminished, and great part of the exaction falls on the unfortunate planter, leaving him little or nothing for a laborious and expensive cultivation in an unhealthy climate.—The wisdom, the justice, the paternal solicitude of your Majesty are the only resources left to your most loyal but distressed subjects in this island: We repose on them with confidence, and most humbly pray your Majesty's protection for securing us the sole means of carrying on our plantations by a supply of labourers, the enjoyment of a reasonable profit from them by continuing the reciprocal monopoly, established by salutary laws and ancient usage, and, finally, that your Majesty will be pleased to direct your Ministers to bring under the review of your Majesty's Parliament our calamitous situation from the effects of the present exorbitant duties on our staples, in the hope that, by your Majesty's most gracious interposition, such an alteration may be made as shall preserve from utter ruin your faithful people of Jamaica.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

JAMAICA COMPLAINTS.—Of the disputes between the legislature and the governor of this important colony, or, rather, between the representatives of the colony and the king's "confidential servants" in Downing Street, much was said in the month of July last. Indeed, I think, it will be found, upon examination, that all, or nearly all, the documents, relating to these disputes, are contained in the preceding volumes of this work; and, to those who may not have perused those documents, and the observations thereon, it may be useful to refer to p. 82 of Vol. VI, where the several parts of the Register, relating to these matters are pointed out. ——In that page the history of the complaints of the planters of Jamaica was brought down to the month of December, 1803, when the governor applied to the assembly to make provision for the expense of sending to France, the French prisoners of war taken at Saint Domingo, an application to which the assembly returned for answer, that they could not undertake for any part of the expense.——In this humour they met again in December, 1804, as will, I think, clearly appear from the documents to be found in the foregoing pages of the present sheet, all of which

documents I beg leave to recommend to the attention of the reader.——The first is a resolution of the governor and council, notifying, that after the end of six months, reckoning from the 21st of November last, the importation of provisions and lumber hitherto permitted in neutral vessels, shall no longer be permitted; and that, the exportation of rum and molasses, hitherto permitted, under certain restrictions, in the same vessels, shall no longer be permitted. ——Whereupon the assembly, in an address dated on the 8th of December, represent to the governor the deep concern which this resolution has excited, and the fatal consequences, which, if persevered in, it must produce. They say, that it is notorious, that, without a continuance of their intercourse with the United States of America, their plantations cannot be supplied with the articles indispensably necessary to the cultivation of their land and the conveying of its productions to the mother country. They, therefore, beseech the governor either to revoke the resolution, or to recal the publication of it, until an opportunity is afforded the assembly of making a representation to their sovereign. ——In answer to this address, the governor expresses his extreme concern, that the imperative orders he has received from the ministers of England compel him to refuse the request of the assembly. But, he observes to them, that the six months notice of the termination of the intercourse will afford him time to communicate their wishes to the ministers, and will afford them time to make their representations to the king, in the manner, that they may think most conducive to their interests.——The petition of the Assembly to his Majesty, which is the last of the documents here laid before the public, appears to have been drawn up in consequence of a resolution agreed to previous to the date of the resolution of the Governor and Council, the subject of that resolution being reserved for a separate representation to the King. The petition complains first, of the attacks which have been made, and which are still making, upon the rights, the reputation, and the lives of the peaceable inhabitants of the West India Colonies, by those speculative men, who have, with such dreadful success, propagated their fanatical and chimerical notions of liberty and equality in the old world; and, it expresses a firm reliance on the wisdom and paternal care and solicitude of his Majesty to prevent similar success in his distant possessions. The other subject of complaint, is, the breach of the compact between the mother country and the colony of Jamaica, which breach consists, in the imposing, by the ministers at home, enormous duties upon the produce of Jamaica, and in the encouragement of the production of sugar in the settlements of the East India Company, and that, too, for the avowed purpose of discouraging the West India production of that article. The observations, to be made upon these complaints, naturally divide themselves under four distinct heads; namely: the *intercourse with the United States of America*; the *slave trade*; the *oppressive duties*; and the *preference given to the produce of the East India Company*.——The first is, in every sense of the word, the most important subject; for, it is to be hoped, that the legislature here will not hastily adopt the notions which the Assembly dread, relative to the slave trade; the oppressive duties may be lightened; and the East India sugar project may be abandoned, or may soon fail, from more than one cause. But with regard to the *intercourse with America* there is not a moment to be lost. Three months of the six will shortly have expired: already merchants and planters must have made preparations for regulating their conduct upon the resolution of the Governor and Council: already the colony must have begun to feel its effects; and, unless it be revoked, without loss of time, consequences the most serious must ensue, consequences resulting in a state of things that may, without exaggeration, be described as the total ruin of the colony; and if the example be followed in the other islands, by the ruin of all our colonies in the West Indies. That such must be the effects of this harsh measure will admit of little doubt in the mind of any one who takes time to consider what is the nature and what the extent of the intercourse between Jamaica and the United States. The Americans supply the planters of Jamaica with flour, Indian meal, Indian corn, rice, pork, beef, salt fish, some live stock, house timber, scantling, boards, shingles, and staves; that is to say, with a great portion of the food required for the planters, the negroes, the merchants, and, as the Assembly observe, even for His Majesty's troops; with timber, scantling, and boards wherewith to build and repair the houses and manufactories, with shingles to cover them, and with staves for making the hogsheads and puncheons wherein to send the produce of the colony to the mother country. In payment for these articles of prime necessity the planters have been hitherto permitted to employ, in part, the produce of their land; but, this permission has extended, I believe, no further than the articles of

rum and molasses, and has been confined, as to value, always within the amount of the importation in each American vessel respectively, still preserving to the mother country all the useful and practicable advantages of colonial monopoly. This intercourse is now to be put an end to; and, observe, too, that this step is taken in time of war, and at a time when the colony is already sinking under the burdens imposed upon its productions! That the articles above enumerated are absolutely necessary to the very existence of the colony of Jamaica cannot be denied; and, that they are to be obtained, in sufficient quantity, no where but in the American states, is another incontrovertible position. But, say the partisans of this measure, these articles will be just as good when conveyed in British ships, as when conveyed in American ships; and, a rigorous adherence to the navigation laws, in this respect, will tend to increase the British, and to diminish the American, mercantile marine. True, the articles will be full as *good*, when conveyed in British ships, but there is little risk in asserting that they will not be half so *cheap*; or, to speak more correctly, that they will be twice as dear as when conveyed in American ships. British ships, from the high price of their building and repairs, and from the dearness of their provisions, always sail dearer than American ships. Then, observe, that the carrying trade between America and the West Indies will be nine times out of ten at a distance from the owner. At present, and always in time of war, the British ships will be liable to be stripped of their men every time they come into a West India port, while the insurance on the vessels and cargo must be five times as high as upon American vessels; circumstances that will cause a very great addition to the expenses of navigating, and, of course, to the amount of the articles imported in, such ships. But, is this all? Is there nothing to be apprehended from the counteracting measures, that will be adopted, on the part of the United States? In order to answer this question, we must form an opinion of what those measures will be; and, in order to form that opinion with tolerable correctness, we have only to read the report made to the Congress by Mr. Jefferson, in the year 1793, when he was Secretary of State for foreign affairs. In that report (which will be found entire in the Political Register, Vol. I. p. 801), he first describes, with great precision, the checks which the different nations of Europe have opposed to the commerce and navigation of the United States: then he comes to the remedies, which it may be wise to adopt, in order to produce the removal of those checks. Amongst the several cases, for which these remedies are calculated, he states precisely that which will arise out of the resolution adopted by the Governor and Council of Jamaica; and, here is the remedy he proposes. "Where "a nation refuses to our vessels the carriage of any of our own productions, to "certain countries under their domination, "we might *refuse to theirs*, of every description, *the carriage of the same productions to the same countries*. But, as justice and good "neighbourhood would dictate, that those "who have no part in imposing the restrictions on us," [meaning the West-India colonists] "should not be the victims of "measures adopted to defeat the effect of "those restrictions, it may be proper to "confine our restrictions to vessels owned, "or navigated by any subject of the same "dominant power, other than the inhabitants of the country, to which the said "productions are to be carried." That is to say, that, with regard to Jamaica, for instance, no American produce shall be suffered to be shipped thither in any vessel belonging to subjects of England, except those subjects live in the island of Jamaica. "And," continues he, "to prevent all inconvenience to the said inhabitants, as "well as to our own, by too sudden a "check on the means of transportation, we "may continue to admit, the vessels marked for future exclusion, on an *advanced* "*tonnage*, and for such length of time only, "as may be supposed necessary to guard "against that inconvenience." * Thus, supposing this, the most mild, measure to be adopted, the immediate consequence of the Jamaica regulation will be an advance upon the tonnage duty of British ships in all the American ports; and this will, of course, form another item in the additions which will be made to the necessaries of life in Jamaica. It may be asked, whether the Americans will adopt such measures to the certain diminution in the amount of their produce sold to the West-Indies. To which this is Mr. Jefferson's answer. "It "is true, we must expect some inconvenience in practice, from the establishment of discriminating duties. But, "in this, as in so many other cases, we "we are left to choose between two evils. "These inconveniencies are nothing, when "weighed against the loss of wealth and "loss of force, which will follow our per-

* Register, Vol. I. p. 810.

severance in the plan of indiscrimination." * When, therefore, we recollect, that this Mr. Jefferson is not only *new* President of the United States, but that he has been again chosen to fill that office for four years, beginning in the next month, when his present presidency will expire; and, when we recollect, that there is now no party of any consequence to oppose any measure that he may wish to adopt; when we recollect how great a favourite the West India commerce is in the United States, and how necessary an exchange of commodities with the islands is to the people of America; when we recollect these things, it is impossible not to foresee the adoption of every measure calculated to compel our ministers to rescind their Jamaica resolution; and, if such measures are adopted, rescind the resolution we must, or the colony must be ruined.——Some persons have talked (I do not know that they have ever ventured to commit their opinions to paper) of supplying Jamaica and the rest of the islands from *our own dominions*. Upon the face of the matter, let me ask any man, if he thinks we could supply them from England and Ireland? If he really thinks we have any quartern loaves to spare? And, if we had them, if he imagines, that the planters of Jamaica could find the means of purchasing them? No: but, might not the islands be supplied from *British North America?* With timber, scantling, boards, shingles and staves they might, if, in British North America, there were *hands* enough to prepare those materials. They might, too, thence be supplied with salt shad, herrings, salmon, and cod; but, there wants the *hands* to catch and cure, and the *vessels* to convey them. But, as to provisions; as to flour, biscuit, Indian meal and corn, pease, pork, and beef, whoever talks of the West Indies being supplied with those articles from British North America is a dreamer. Our possessions in North America are; Newfoundland; Nova Scotia; New Brunswick; and Canada; all of which, I believe, the last excepted, are so far from being able to supply the West Indies with provisions, that they themselves are indebted for a considerable part of their provisions to the United States! Canada can export but very little indeed of either flour or flesh; and, let it be recollected, besides, that whatever comes from that province must descend the St. Laurence, the navigation of which, from Quebec to the mouth, requires, upon an average, a space of time equal to that required in a passage from Virginia to Jamaica. Indeed, to talk of supplying the West Indies from our North American colonies is an absurdity to be treated with silent contempt.——The *whole* of the food of the inhabitants of the West Indies does not go from the United States. A part, particularly beef and butter, goes from Ireland; but, this is comparatively small; not exceeding in amount, a tenth part, perhaps, of what is supplied by the American States. The islands, too, produce a part of the food necessary for the support of their inhabitants. It would be difficult to come at a very exact estimate of the amount of the supply from each source respectively; but, of the share which the American States has in it some idea may be formed from the contents of a Return, presented to the Legislative Assembly of Jamaica in December last; from which return it appears, that the quantity of American provisions, purchased for the use of *the King's troops*, and for the *King's ships* upon that station, in the space of three years, ending in September last, was to the following enormous amount. For the troops: 27,453 barrels of flour, amounting to £105,881. For the ships: 46,687 cwts. of biscuit; 20,545 barrels of flour; 1,422 barrels of beef; 1,552 barrels of pork; 12,362 bushels of pease; 152,045lb. of rice, and 90,958 lbs. of tobacco. All this in the space of only three years, and to the King's forces too; to those who are to be supposed to be ever under the special care of the government at home, and whom care is, in fact, always taken to supply, in part at least, with provisions from the mother country! Let any one judge, then, of the degree, in which the inhabitants of Jamaica are supplied from the American States, and of the ruin which an interruption of the present intercourse must occasion to the former.——Such being a true representation of the case, what can have been the motive that induced his Majesty's ministers to give "imperative" orders to the Governor of Jamaica to issue the resolution of the 21st of November? The pretext, it is said, is, that information had been received of the smuggling of gin, brandy, and East India goods, into the West India Islands in American vessels, and thereby injuring the commerce and revenue of the mother country; but, if this fact were truly alleged, why not make such regulations in the custom-houses of the islands as would prevent the success of this contraband trade? And, besides, does any one imagine that the prohibition of the present intercourse will prove to be a remedy for this evil?

* Register, Vol. I. p. 810.

Does any one believe, that smuggling is not likely to be carried on in British as well as in American ships, sailing from the same ports? This must be a mere pretext; and, when we are informed, that the order went out by the October packet, it is not difficult to conceive a real motive for the order; it is by no means difficult to conceive why Mr. Pitt should wish to make the planters of Jamaica feel the effects of his return to power. They had remonstrated against his taxes upon their produce; they had called those taxes oppressive; they had ventured to express their satisfaction that he and Mr. Dundas had been succeeded by persons less hostile to their interests, less deaf to their complaints, less indifferent to their distresses. After all, *taxation* is at the bottom. The minister must have taxes, *coûte qui coûte*. The continent of America was lost by the rigours of taxation; and, it is greatly to be feared, that the islands will be lopped off by the same fatal influence. What! Some one will say, will the loyal inhabitants of Jamaica, rather than share the burdens of the mother country, seek to break in sunder the bands of their connexion with her? No: I am persuaded, that there is not a county in England more firmly and affectionately attached to the throne and to the person of his Majesty than the colony of Jamaica is. But, this is not the question. The question is: will the inhabitants of Jamaica quietly submit to utter ruin, rather than legally use their utmost exertions to enjoy their share, whatever it may be, of the liberties and prosperity of the empire? That they ought not, nobody will deny; and, that they will not every one who has been an observer of their conduct must be thoroughly convinced.—— Much of what I could wish to say upon this subject must be postponed to my next: yet, I cannot forbear, upon the *slave trade*, here to address a word or two to Mr. Wilberforce, who, if the public papers speak truth, is about to renew those "attacks," which form one of the grounds of the Jamaica complaints. That charity ought to begin at home, Sir, is a very good maxim; and so ought *philanthropy*. Some years ago, I besought your attention to the *white* slave trade, which then was, and now is, carrying on between this United Kingdom and the American States. I informed you, that ship-loads of Irish and Welsh, and some English and Scotch, were yearly sent to America, and there *sold* by public advertisement. I assured you, and I produced dates and names in proof of my assurances, that these poor creatures were treated during their passage much worse than negroes; and that, if, after being sold, they eloped from their masters, and were caught again, they were flogged like dogs, and were sometimes further punished by being compelled to wear, for years, an iron collar rivetted round their necks. I was greatly mortified to perceive, that my representation was altogether useless, though strengthened by the then recent fact of some of the parish officers in Wales having actually laid out the parish rates in furnishing the means of shipping off many of their poor to live in such a state of slavery in a foreign land. But, Sir, I will now come *still nearer home*, very near indeed, and invoke the full force of your philanthropy in behalf of the more than million of wretched creatures, called paupers, who, at this moment, are in existence, in *England*. Yes, in England! Englishmen and women and children! more than a million of them! One eighth part of our whole population! "But, they are not *slaves*." Say, rather, Sir, that they are not *black*; a circumstance which they may, seeing the preference which is given to that colour, well regard as extremely unfortunate. The negroe slaves in the West Indies are, in every respect, better off than the labouring poor are in England. They are fed better; they are lodged better; they suffer much less from the inclemency of the weather; they have a far greater portion of chirurgical and medical assistance; they are (I speak generally) full as kindly treated by their masters; they work not half so hard; they have a hundred times more leisure time; the Sunday is proverbially called their holiday, and, if they dance or otherwise recreate themselves thereon, they are not dragged to prison handcuffed. "But, they are not *free*. "They cannot go where they like. They "cannot change their master, nor even their "place of residence." And, can a poor English labourer do any of these? Can he remove from parish to parish with impunity? Is he not circumscribed by the law as well as by his misery? And, where, then, is the difference to him whether he be thus restrained, or restrained by the sole will of a master? "But, the poor negroes' children are taken "from them and transferred to other mas-"ters." And, how many thousands and hundreds of thousands of English children are at this moment, in such a state of separation from their parents? Children, I mean, who have been absolutely *forced* from their parents by due course of law, and who are, or will be, every one of them, placed under masters without any permission, and, in many cases, doubtless, against the will of their parents. I am not finding fault with this power given by the law. I am only stat-

ing the fact; and, there remains in my mind very little doubt, that there is caused by these separations of children and parents more anguish in one month, than proceeds from the same cause in Africa and the West Indies in twenty years. "But, the poor negroes are let out to keep and to hire; their labour is bargained for, like that of horses or asses; and thus are they degraded beneath the human species." Whereupon, Sir, give me leave to call your philanthropic attention to a proposed bargain of this sort no farther off than the county of Sussex, the proposition being made through the channel of the Portsmouth news-paper, and dated on the 7th of December last. "The Visitors and Guardians of the Poor of Sixteen United Parishes, whose House of Industry is situate at Eastbourne, near Midhurst, Sussex, are desirous of immediately receiving Proposals from Persons willing to *contract* for providing the Diet and Clothing, and for *taking the Labour* of the Paupers in the said House, at a *specific sum* weekly for each Pauper, for One Year, to be directed to Mr. TYLER, Petworth, Sussex, on application to whom further particulars may be had, and the form of the Contract may be seen.—The Contractor will be paid constantly for Seventy Paupers at the least, and will be repaid the price exceeding twenty pounds per load for all Wheat consumed for Paupers' Food."—Now Sir, these are our own country people; our own flesh and blood and skin. Why, then, while they are thus contracted for and let out; why should we seek for objects of compassion elsewhere? "We cannot help this misery and degradation in England." But, have *we endeavoured?* Have those endeavoured to lessen them or to prevent them for the future; those who have been the constant supporters and panegyrists of your friend, Mr. Pitt? Since that gentleman came into power, and since you came into parliament, Sir, the paupers of England have nearly doubled in number, rising, during the twenty years, from about 600,000 to more than 1,000,000! Thus, Sir, while you and Mr. Pitt have been almost annually proposing some measure to mitigate or to remove altogether the imaginary miseries of negro slavery, our own paupers, under the administration of that Mr. Pitt, have received an *augmentation* of numbers greater than the numbers of all the negroes put together in the whole of the British West India islands! "Mr. Pitt cannot help that." I do not say that he can. I do not impute to him any *intention* to make this fearful addition to the paupers of England. When I consider, that, since he has been minister, an addition of 17,000,000l. sterling per annum has been made to the *interest* of the public debt; when I consider how much has thus been drawn from the labour of the people and given to the loan-jobbers and other makers of, and dealers in, paper money; when I consider these things, I am, indeed, at no loss to discover whence has arisen the addition to the number of our paupers. But, be the cause what it may, the sad effect is before us. There are a million of our own country people in misery, and nearly one-half of the million have fallen into this state since Mr. Pitt and you first agitated the questions relative to negro slavery. And, does it not become us, Sir, to lay aside all philanthropic exertions in behalf of foreigners, especially negroes, till we have made some exertions in behalf of our suffering countrymen? True, the negroes may be yet too closely lodged during their passage from Africa to America; but, Sir, in the parish where you and I live, where the parliament has the frequent opportunity of hearing the effusions of your humanity; in this very parish, and not many paces from your own door, you may (if the collector of the poor-rates has not misinformed me) find hundreds of miserable beings *more closely packed together* in their beds than the negroes ever are on board the vilified Liverpool ships. Nay, Sir, are you not convinced, that there is more misery, more human suffering, arising from want and hard treatment, at this moment, in this our parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, than in all the British West India islands put together? I am fully convinced of it; and, being so convinced, my first object should be to lessen that suffering; it should, at least, take precedent of every other object of a similar description. (*To be continued.*)

MILITARY FORCE.——This subject is introduced here merely for the purpose of stating from the returns, now before Parliament, that which, in the preceding sheet, was obliged to be a matter of guess. I supposed, in p. 184, that our regular infantry, in the united kingdom, might amount to 70,000 men, including guards; but, from a return just printed by order of the House of Commons, it appears, that the whole of the regular infantry in Great Britain and Ireland, including the guards, amounts to no more than 46,303 men! The cavalry amounts to 18,927 men; and the artillery to 5,676 men; making in the whole, a regular army of 70,906 men upon *paper*; which deducting a tenth for non-effectives (and remember there are no small number of little boys enlisted), leaves us 60,000 men, fit to

take the field! Such is, at best, the state of our regular army. Such is the army, whence we are to supply our colonies, whence we are now about to detach 2000 men to "our "empire in the East," and whence we are to send forth expeditions for the "restoration "of the balance of Europe!" But, Mr. Pitt has intimated his intention of dipping into the militia; of suffering the men to volunteer into the army, till the British militia is reduced to the number of 40,000 men. This is a very wise measure, as far as it goes; but, it forces into our mind the former opinions and assertions of Mr. Pitt, some of which will be seen in the motto to the present sheet. In the debate of the 23d of June, Mr. Elliot and Mr. Windham having earnestly recommended this very reduction, their recommendation was treated by Mr. Pitt in a manner which may best be judged of by a reference to his speech. He there defended the militia system, as augmented to its present numbers, and treated with something very little short of contempt all those who differed with him in opinion. Mr. Addington supported the same system; and both upon constitutional and military grounds, he continued to support it, to the very last speech that he made in the House of Commons, as may be seen by referring to the motto of the preceding sheet, where he makes *a solem protest against any reduction of the militia*. How the gentlemen will now settle this point we shall probably, soon see. If, however, they can agree upon the more important subject of patronage and others thereunto belonging, there is little danger of their coming to mutual accommodations upon that which concerns merely the safety and honour of the country.

FINANCE.——Into this subject it is impossible fully to enter until the several accounts for the year 1804 have been laid before parliament and printed. There has, however, been one paper thus communicated to the public, from which I am able to state a detached fact or two.——The readers of the Register will remember, that, in his last year's budget-speech, Mr. Addington estimated the produce of the War Taxes at 15,000,000l.* They have produced, during the year 1804, only 11,000,000 l. He estimated the Surplus of the Consolidated Fund at 5,000,000 l. † As near as I can judge from the paper above-alluded to, this surplus will not exceed 2,000,000 l. And, unless additional taxes are, this year, brought to the income of the fund, there is every appearance, that there will be no surplus at all; and, not only no surplus, but that the charge upon the fund will *exceed* its income.——The reader has recently been reminded of Mr. Addington's promise, that our annual loans, during the war, should not exceed 6,000,000 l. for Great Britain. It has been amply shown, that the loans made under the name of Ireland, are, in fact, made for Great Britain, seeing that the latter must pay the interest on them as well as on all the rest of the Irish debt, or, which is the same thing, pay Ireland's share of the expenses in support of the war.* We have seen this same Mr. Addington borrow 10,000,000 l. and 5,750,000 l. for Ireland last year, in the face of his repeated promises to the contrary; and, for the present year, there is little doubt but we shall see a loan made for 20, if not 25 millions, and new taxes imposed to the estimated amount, probably, of 5 or 6 millions. The blow may be broken by dividing the loan, or by some other financiering *tour-de-main*; but, come it must, and, first or last, with the accumulated weight here described.——The whole of the nation's expenditure, for the present year, will be about 70,000,000 l. the whole of its revenue, as the revenue now stands, about 40,000,000 l. The deficit must be made up, either by loans or by new taxes. Of the expenditure about 29,000,000 l. will consist of interest upon the national debt, a sum equal in amount to the whole of the annual expenditure of the French empire; in which expenditure is included, of course, the means of maintaining an army of 500,000 regular soldiers. Money is, indeed, of far less value in England than in France; but, when we consider the extent and fertility of the dominions and the amount of the population, upon which the revenue of France is collected, this glance at the subject is quite enough to convince any rational man of the absurdity of those who hope to carry on against France a war of Exchequers.

THE IRISH CATHOLICS' PETITION will be presented about the 25th Instant. It has been finally agreed to unanimously.

Some observations relative to the Middlesex Election Petitions, the Reports of the Naval Inquiry Board, and the relative situation of Lord Sidmouth and Mr. Pitt, are postponed only for want of room.

* Parl. Debates, Vol. II. p. 356. † Ibid.

* See present Volume, p. 109, et seq.

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